

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 02848 021402Z

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----021404 112506 /53

O 021325Z MAR 77 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4694

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2848

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SHUM, US,

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO MFA STATEMENT ON CONTACT WITH SAKHAROV

REF: MOSCOW 2815

1. KORNIYENKO'S ANGRY DEMARCH TO AMBASSADOR YESTERDAY CLEARLY DESIGNED AS FOLLOW-UP TO DOBRYNIN'S DEMARCHE TO HARTMAN WHICH WE ASSUME FORMULATED PRIOR TO SAKHAROV'S SURFACING OF HIS EXCHANGE WITH PRESIDENT ALTHOUGH DELIVERED AFTER HIS PRESS CONFERENCE. THE SUBSTANCE AND TONE OF THE NON-PAPER AND KORNIYENKO'S REMARKS ON EMBASSY CONTACT WITH SAKHAROV COMPEL IMMEDIATE, FORMAL REBUTTAL SINCE, INTER ALIA, THEY MAKE CLEAR THAT FURTHER CONTACTS WITH HIM COULD RESULT IN THE EXPULSION OF ONE OF THE EMBASSY OFFICERS DIRECTLY INVOLVED. WHILE AMBASSADOR COVERED MOST POINTS ORALLY YESTERDAY, WE RECOMMEND WRITTEN REPLY TO DOBRYNIN, ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

-- ALLEGATION OF INCITEMENT AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF SAKHAROV BY EMBASSY OFFICER IS COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED. CONTACTS WITH HIM HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY OPEN AND PROPER, AND IN FULL ACCORD WITH DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE, INCLUDING THE PRACTICE OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON:

--THE RECENT CONTACTS WITH SAKHAROV WERE ON INSTRUCTION FROM THE USG, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DELIVERING A PERSONAL LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES;

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02848 021402Z

-- NEITHER THE CONTACTS NOR THEIR SUBSTANCE CAN BE CONSTRUED AS INTERFERENCE IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS: THE EMBASSY HAS NOT INCITED SAKHAROV TO ACTIVITIES HOSTILE TO THE SOVIET UNION, NOR WILL IT IN THE FUTURE. WE THUS CANNOT ACCEPT THE MINISTRY'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE EMBASSY'S MOTIVATIONS IN THIS MATTER.

2. THE POINT SHOULD BE MADE ORALLY THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST EMBASSY OFFICERS IN THIS CONNECTION WOULD NOT ONLY RESULT IN APPROPRIATE RETALIATORY STEPS, BUT WOULD PROBABLY REQUIRE US TO REVIEW THE SUITABILITY OF THE DISPROPORTIONATELY LARGE OFFICIAL SOVIET PRESENCE WHICH NOW EXISTS IN THE U.S.

3. AS FOR SAKHAROV'S OWN POSITION, SOVIET AUTHORITIES ARE PRESENTLY ATTEMPTING TO REDUCE HIS ACTIVITIES BY PRESSURE ON HIM AND HIS FAMILY AS WELL AS BY PRESSURE AGAINST WESTERNERS IN MOSCOW, INCLUDING THE EMBASSY, WHO HAVE CONTACT WITH HIM. THE AUTHORITIES MAY BE CONTENT TO CONTINUE ON THIS COURSE SO LONG AS IT HOLDS SOME PROMISE OF SUCCESS. MEANWHILE, THERE ARE TENTATIVE SIGNS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARING THE WAY FOR FURTHER DIRECT MOVES AGAINST SAKHAROV, POSSIBLY BEFORE THE SECRETARY'S VISIT.

-- THE LANGUAGE USED IN THE RECENT GUSEV ARTICLE ON THE OP-ED PAGE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES WAS OMINOUS IN THAT IT SIGNALLED A CLEAR BASIS IN SOVIET LAW FOR OFFICIAL ACTIONS AGAINST HIM;

-- THE CHARACTERIZATION OF SAKHAROV IN THE MINISTRY'S STATEMENT AS A "RENEGADE", A SELF-DECLARED "ENEMY OF THE SOVIET STATE" AND ONE WHO ENGAGES IN "ILLEGAL AND MALICIOUS ACTIVITY" IS THE MOST HARSH AND CATEGORICAL CONDEMNATION OF HIM WE HAVE SEEN IN AN OFFICIAL SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02848 021402Z

DOCUMENT;

-- A RUMOR IS NOW CIRCULATING THAT STEPS ARE CURRENTLY UNDER WAY TO AMEND THE CHARTER OF THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO DETAILS, THIS COULD IN PART REPRESENT A MOVE TO STRIP SAKHAROV OF HIS REMAINING PRIVILEGES AS AN ACADEMY MEMBER.

4. GIVEN HIS PRECARIOUS SITUATION, WE BELIEVE CAREFUL THOUGH SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO THE MODALITIES BY WHICH WE COMMUNICATE WITH SAKHAROV IN THE FUTURE. SHOULD HE REQUEST FURTHER CONTACT WITH US, WE FEEL WE WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE TO RECEIVING HIM. WE WOULD PLAN TO SET THE APPOINTMENT FOR THE NEXT DAY OR SO, IN ORDER TO HAVE SUFFICIENT TIME TO NOTIFY THE DEPARTMENT AND MAKE APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS.

5. IN OUR JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, FURTHER DIRECT CONTACT WITH SAKHAROV COULD CAUSE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO CONCLUDE

THEY HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO MOVE DIRECTLY AGAINST HIM. THIS COULD TAKE A NUMBER OF FORMS SHORT OF ARREST, BUT IF THEY MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION WE SEE NO EFFECTIVE COURSE OF U.S. ACTION TO PROTECT HIM. AS WE ASSESS THE MOOD OF THE LEADERSHIP ON THIS QUESTION, IT IS CONCEIVABLE THEY MIGHT DECIDE TO STRIKE DIRECTLY AT SAKHAROV TO DEMONSTRATE AT HOME AND ABROAD THAT SENTIMENTS IN THE WEST CANNOT PROTECT "RENEGADES" AND "ENEMIES OF THE SOVIET STATE," KNOWING FULL WELL THAT THEIR ACTIONS WOULD TEMPORARILY OUTRAGE CONCERNED WESTERN OPINION. WE THEREFORE THINK WE SHOULD INITIATE FURTHER DIRECT CONTACT WITH SAKHAROV ONLY IN EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES, AND UTILIZE TO THE EXTENT PRACTICABLE PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO REGISTER SUPPORT AND MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE WITH HIM. TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEMARCHE, MEETINGS, DISSIDENT FACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 02-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW02848
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X4
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770071-1082
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197703101/aaaadlkq.tel
Line Count: 130
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ed4388ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 MOSCOW 2815
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2940741
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RESPONSE TO MFA STATEMENT ON CONTACT WITH SAKHAROV
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SHUM, US, (CARTER, JIMMY), (SAKHAROV, ANDREI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ed4388ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009